1: Gorer J-5 (1937)1938 AK5 Lepcha AK5

614 835 situations inevitably lead to jealousy, fighting, and the splitting of the group. By their regulations the Lepchas have reduced intra-group aggression to the minimum. The potential rivalry between father and son is mitigated by taking the arrangements for the child's marriage entirely out of the parents' hands; the potential rivalry between brothers is mitigated by allowing the younger brother access to his more favoured and stronger elder brother's wife, while making the relationship between an elder brother and his younger sister-in-law strongly incestuous. In this connection it is [538] worth while noting that in the very large and elaborate Lepcha folk-lore and mythology I did not come upon a single instance of the otherwise almost universal compensatory story of the conflict between brothers, in which the despised, or ill-used younger brother or sister makes good after the elders have failed.

152 There is no specific word for 'jealousy' in Lepcha. When I presented hypothetical jealous situations to Lepchas and asked them what their feelings would be, the greater number say they would be angry; but this word, *sak-lyak*, does not carry very strong emotional connotations; it is the word used by parents if their children are naughty, or by workmen if they come across an un-expected difficulty in their work. It is also the most general euphem-[195] ism for a sexual erection; I cannot untangle the associations which have produced this metaphor, but there is no question that the word is used in both senses; more than once I have heard a workman say when, for example, cords have got tangled 'I am as angry as a standing penis.' Despite the one-directioned sex-words, sexual [831] activity is never openly equated with aggression; it is generally believed that both sexes enjoy it equally, though a few people maintained that women enjoy it more; almost all were agreed that women enjoy it later in life than men do. On the other hand [833] point may be given to the metaphor by the fact that during copula-tion only the man is active; the woman lies completely passive and relaxed.

152 831 The Lepchas of Zongu have dissipated nearly all the highly-charged emotional feelings which in many other societies are centred around sex, and on the whole neither sexual activity nor jealousy are strong motivating factors in their lives. There are a few exceptions to this generalisation; the quarrels fostered by the outsider, Mrs. Jiroong, have already been described in Chapter Three; and married women who show marked preference even for perfectly hereditable spouses, and married men who show preference

1: Gorer J-5 (1937)1938 AK5 Lepcha AK5

CHAPTER ELEVEN

BIRTH AND CHILDHOOD

842 843 According to Lepcha theory a child's life starts at the moment of conception. When the two secretions mingle[1] the soul arrives from heaven or the place of the gods (the first being the lamaist, the second the Mun, repository of unborn people); the father's semen provides the bones and brain, the mother's vaginal secretions the flesh and blood. The first portion of the foetus to be formed is the 843 eyes, which are completed at the end of the first month; then from round the eyes the head develops and then the rest of the body downwards. The foetus is completely human with all its organs, and even its hair, at the end of the fifth month.

Within the womb is something resembling a nipple through which the child draws nourishment; this nourishment is something like butter, and is the transmuted food of the mother, just as milk is after birth. Consequently the mother is not permanently depleted by child-bearing; none of her body has gone to feed the child.

842 Conception is shown by the cessation of the menses, which were instituted for that purpose. The child does not feed on the menstrual blood; menstruation is exclusively a calendar.

843 At the fifth month when the baby is considered fully formed the expectant parents must start observing the numerous pre-natal precautions which have to be followed if the child is not to be born malformed, or if the mother is not to have a difficult delivery. The entering into this period of pre-natal precautions is established by a Mun *pék*-ing both parents with a bunch of elephant grass in one hand and a live fowl in the other. Both parents are equally capable of influencing the child within the womb, and in point of fact the greater number of the precautions to be observed are concerned with work which is liable to fall to a man rather than a 843 woman. Copulation after conception has no influence on the foetus, 833 except incestuously, which would produce a miscarriage, and may

[831] [1] The Lepchas consider semen and the vaginal secretions to be parallel substances; they are called penis-water and vagina-water.

1: Gorer J-5 (1937)1938 AK5 Lepcha AK5

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[833]

be continued right up to birth; in the last weeks it is generally performed *a retro* lying on the side.

It would be tedious to give a complete list of the pre-natal precautions to be observed, but the following are some typical examples. If either of the parents are engaged in making a fence he or she must do the whole work by himself; otherwise the baby cannot be born properly. The father must not take any fish out of a trap in the river or the child will be born with its nose stopped up. Neither parent must lock up anything except their own box or the child will not be able to be born until what is closed is opened; even the house door must not be fastened. Neither parent may eat animals which have met their death by accident or by being killed by a wild beast; the father must never look at a recently killed animal; he can kill animals but must run away at once. The father must not touch the iron or rope of a horse's bridle; should he do so the mother and child are liable to die, but this can be prevented if a bridle is kept in the house which can be *pék* over the woman during delivery. If either parent should be weaving a mat or cloth he or she must never quite finish it but must leave a little bit over. The mother must not eat any joined fruit such as a double banana or the child's toes will be webbed. Neither parent must stick poles into the ground or tie knots or drive in nails or put small stones into the cracks between bigger stones when building a wall; all of these prevent proper delivery. Expectant parents must not look at a solar or lunar eclipse or the child will be born dead; in the case of a solar eclipse both parents must stop in the house all day. If a child has recently died the paths it used to walk in and its house must be avoided; and as a general precaution it is better to avoid the paths and houses of all recently dead people. Expectant parents must not watch a dog being born; if they do so the child will have one eye smaller than the other. If expectant parents move a sacred image the child will be born dumb. Should either parent look at or kill a field-mouse or should they eat rice which has stuck to the bottom of the cooking-pot the placenta will not descend. There are a very great number of prohibitions similar to those listed above; the second half of pregnancy is a period of constant watchfulness for both parents.

There is a disease called *tamdit* which afflicts expectant parents; one loses all appetite while the other eats voraciously. This does not affect all people and may strike either sex.

The sex of a child is fixed after five months; and one can tell

1: Gorer J-5 (1937)1938 AK5 Lepcha AK5

553 Some time during the ceremony the child is given its first name.
846 This may be given by the officiating Mun, or suggested by anyone else present. Usually the father invites suggestions. Unless the child has some physical peculiarity or some peculiar circumstance connected with its birth the first (temporary) name is usually the day of the week on which it was born, in Tibetan.

833 Either three, seven, or twenty-one days after delivery the
846 husband copulates with his wife ritually, on the side and *a retro*, moving very slowly and gently, so that the semen may take away the pains of child-birth. If this is done after three days, it is called *sak-non mon-lok*, if after seven *tang-bong ʒaam*. It is only put off after seven days at the request of the wife, and there is no name for a later performance. Copulation *a retro* is fairly usual, though some people dislike it; it is considered more discreet than the normal position and is used when quietness is desired, and to avoid being noticed.

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853 For the first two days the baby is fed exclusively on its mother's milk; on the third day, at its birth feast, it is given a tiny pellet of pounded rice mixed with butter; and thereafter it is given a small bit of this mixture three times a day. At about the age of eight months it is given a little cooked and pounded rice, and after that the solid part of its diet is gradually increased. Babies are not
862 usually weaned until the birth of the next sibling, and there is usually an interval of three to four years between births; consequently the greater number of children are on a completely solid diet before they are weaned. It sometimes happens that the mother becomes pregnant again fairly quickly; in such cases the babies are fed on cows' milk and rice, a diet which produces pot-belly. This is exceptional, and only a couple of babies are thus malformed.

In the greater number of cases children are old enough to understand talk before they are weaned, and they are told that they cannot suckle any more because the new baby wants the milk; if the child will not accept this the mother smears her breasts with the new baby's excreta to disgust the older child. Children are always told that the new-born baby is Sang-rong *moong*, who is a bogey the size of a small child specially invented to frighten children; this is done to prevent young children handling the new-born infant, and also to scare them into renouncing the rivalry for the mother's breast.

On occasion weaning is accompanied by physical separation.

1: Gorer J-5 (1937)1938 AK5 Lepcha AK5

854 is a boy a great deal of the care of the next child will fall on him;
857 Chimpet's parents accounted for his rather small stature by the fact that he had to carry his sister, two years younger than himself. This sister in her turn shared with her mother the care of the two baby girls; only when one was ill with chicken-pox, or when her mother wanted her help, did Chimpet have to act as nurse. Fathers
854 often carry their children on their backs, especially if they are going a long journey; men nurse children, holding them in their arms or on their laps; but I never saw a baby tied on to the back of any man except their father, grandfather, or elder brother. Women on the other hand always appear willing to carry any baby, even if they are completely unrelated.

During the first few weeks the baby sleeps in its mother's arms; afterwards it is given its own mattress beside its mother, with the mother's breast always within reach. There has apparently never been a case of a mother overlaying her baby. During the first few
[833] weeks of a baby's life the parents copulate on the side and *a retro* but return fairly soon to the preferred prone position. It sometimes happens that when the baby becomes capable of movement it feels its parents' bodies and pats them while they are copulating. I have no leads as to what psychological effect, if any, this has on the children; even those older children and adults who remember lactating do not appear to remember feeling their parents copulating; I only heard about such behaviour from the parents of young children.

Children should not cry. If a child starts whimpering some attempt is usually made to find out why; if it is hungry or sleepy or uncomfortable an effort is made to gratify the desire it expresses. Should this be impossible somebody tries to distract the child's attention by waving something bright—a flower or a piece of paper—in front of it, and then giving it to the child to hold. Should this fail the baby is usually walked up and down, while the carrier gently taps its bottom; this treatment appears to be very soothing to Lepcha babies. If bigger babies cry they may be threatened that 'a Tibetan will come with his big bag to take you away, or with his dagger to kill you', and even if they do not understand the words, the tone of voice will frighten and hush it. Grown-ups and older children are quite unscrupulous in using bogies, in which they themselves do not believe, to quiet younger children. Only babies believe in the kidnapping or murdering foreigner, in the big bear round the corner, in the tiny Sang-rong *moong*.

1: Gorer J-5 (1937)1938 AK5 Lepcha AK5

881 through ritual and symbolism men attempt to arrogate to themselves women's physiological functions; perhaps the most striking of these rites is the urethral sub-incision practised by some Australian tribes. Since, unfortunately, nothing is known of the other Mongolian peoples of the Himalayas, it is impossible to state whether this notion is peculiar to the Lepchas, or whether it is shared by their Northern neighbours. The Hindus and the Nepali converts to Hinduism stress overtly the rivalry between the sexes, and adduce the inferiority of women through their magically dangerous and infectious functions of menstruation and child-birth.

886 Just as there is no formally marked beginning of sexual life, so there is no formally marked end of it. The menopause is ignored; the dream of copulation with a supernatural, which marks the menses, is meant to continue after it; and sexual pleasure is considered to be equally strong at any period of life. There appears to be no fear of impotence; sexual appetite and an appetite for food are openly equated, and it is considered that, except through illness or old age, the loss of one is as unlikely as the loss of the other.

833 Some men make a distinction between pre-puberty and post-puberty sexual activity, but this distinction is personal and not cultural. Most men, when talking of their past lives, emphasise what was their first 'real' sexual experience; but some place this first experience very early, at the age of eleven or twelve. I think the operative distinction in the mind of the Lepcha is whether the sexual adventure formed part of a play, or was undertaken seriously for its own sake.

582 584 [833] Lepcha society gives the children a sexual rôle very early; girls are betrothed and occasionally married from the age of eight onwards, and boys from the age of twelve. In Lingthem it seems as though this very early age for betrothal has been somewhat raised in recent years; Mrs. Datoop and one or two other of the elder women in the community were betrothed at the age of eight and married shortly after; but in 1937 there was no betrothed girl aged less than twelve, nor was any young man betrothed to a girl under that age. It is quite probable that this change in the age of betrothal is local and temporary; the Lepchas did not consider that the situation had altered in any way. Even today most young people are betrothed before or at any rate as soon as they arrive at physical puberty, and consequently enter that state with an already selected sexual partner. In 1937 the only unbetrothed girl over thirteen was Prumtu; there were eight boys over sixteen un-

1: Gorer J-5 (1937)1938 AK5 Lepcha AK5

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584 Betrothal does not by any means necessarily imply sexual connection between the betrothed. It does, however, usually indicate the commencement of sexual activity for both parties, and almost [833] always for the boys. The majority of Lepcha men receive their sexual initiation and education from a potential levirate spouse— 836 the wife of an 'elder brother' or 'uncle'—and very often at the woman's direct invitation. It is a Lepcha axiom that women never make the first advances and most people repeat this statement; but a number of men when recounting their own early sex experiences tell of direct invitation and solicitation from these potential spouses; timid Jiroong indeed was at the age of fifteen as nearly raped as it is possible for a man to be by his elder brother's wife. Fathers instruct their sons as to the women they have a right to sleep with, and the women whom, though potentially heritable, they must avoid because their fathers have already slept with them.[3] Elder brothers, too, on their marriage give their younger brothers formal permission to sleep with their wives. These legitimate copulations must be practised discreetly and nearly always take place during the temporary absence of the real spouse. It is considered desirable that a boy should first sleep with a woman older than himself so as to be taught how to do it properly. For the Lepchas there is nothing incongruous in a man sleeping with a woman twice his age, and it would seem indeed that young men find older women more attractive; in the few cases where a young man has been able to choose his own bride they have always chosen elder women. It has already been remarked that fully grown younger brothers transfer many of their attitudes towards their fathers to their elder brothers; I find it, however, impossible to gauge to what extent if any the elder brothers' wives are equated with the mothers.

833 Although the great majority of men receive their sexual initiation 836 from an elder sister-in-law, a few have their first experience with contemporaries. Thus Chimpet has twice slept with a girl of his own age at Parfok at her invitation; he enjoyed the experience and would like to repeat it, but does not want to marry the girl because he does not like her. Similarly Rigya was seduced at the age of fifteen by a girl of the same age in a neighbouring village;

[3] See Chapter Six, p. 153.

1: Gorer J-5 (1937)1938 AK5 Lepcha AK5

it was not her first experience, though it was his. Subsequently his parents tried to betroth him to her, but she was already bespoke.

I unfortunately was not able to obtain as much or as precise detail on the early sexual life of women as I was of men;[4] from such information and reports as I was able to gather it would seem that potential sororate spouses play a much smaller rôle in the initiation of young girls, chiefly no doubt because they generally live some way away. When they are not deflowered by their spouse (this happens sometimes) girls would seem to start their sexual life with unrelated men, often it would appear with visitors to their village. Among the Lepchas the difficulty of talking to women on such subjects was not, as more usually happens, the jealousy of the husbands, but the fact that almost every woman from eight to eighty interpreted any sort of special attention as an attempt at seduction, an attempt which—no matter what their youth or age—they had no intention of repelling.

Until the husband brings his wife home, and indeed till the birth of the first child, Lepcha men and women have complete sexual freedom at every point where this freedom does not endanger the social fabric; that is to say that all potential partners outside the stringent incest categories are permissible, provided that adultery, as the Lepchas understand the term, is not flagrant, continuous or emotionally important. After the birth of the first child adultery —that is to say connection with a woman who is not a potential wife—on the part of the father is thought to endanger the life of the child or children. Except for casual encounters at the forest or at feasts my impression is that adultery is uncommon, and that copulation with permitted partners only takes place intermittently in the absence of the actual spouses.

Lepcha sexual experience can be divided into four categories: legitimate copulation with one's spouse, which almost always takes place in the house; semi-legitimate copulation with potential sororate and levirate spouses, which usually takes place either in the house during the husband's temporary absence or in casual encounters in the forest or field-houses, since it is considered tactless to allow the husband to witness such copulations; thirdly, intrigues with unmarried girls which entail clandestine visits by the young man by night; and, lastly, sudden and clandestine encounters

[4] I was told the precise details of the early sex experience of at least half the men of Lingthem, but only three or four of the women. It was one of the most popular subjects of conversation among the men at the monastery feasts.

1:Gorer J-5 (1937)1938 AK5 Lepcha AK5

The Lepchas have not elaborated seduction in any way, and the verbal intricacies which are employed on formal occasions are not used for it. In most cases the man usually asks the girl in so many words if he may sleep with her; if she refuses at first there may be a little pleading and persuasion; but, except when they are very young, girls do not appear usually to refuse. Courtship barely exists among the Lepchas and no preliminary stimulations in the way of kisses or embraces are employed, though a man may fondle a woman's breasts immediately before copulation; fondling of the breasts in public is considered slightly shameless but rather funny; it is the equivalent to a direct invitation. Sexual desire is not believed to need any provocation; nakedness is not considered in any way exciting or stimulating; one or two men said they were excited at the sight of a woman's naked thighs; but for the majority immediate anticipation is the only stimulant. Neither sex indulges in any obvious exhibitionism when sober (men, especially older men, sometimes uncover their genitals when drunk) nor in any special coquetry. 832

There is no overt jealousy on the part of fathers or brothers towards the lovers of their sisters or daughters; and it is considered that men have no call to interfere in the sexual life of their female blood-relations unless an unmarried girl produces a bastard. Fathers will generally warn their daughters to be circumspect on this account when they think they have reached an age when this becomes possible; but it was agreed that unless a girl were pregnant a father would have no justification in being angry with her or the man if he discovered his daughter with a lover. 835

Except in the case of recent adultery sexual success is not made a secret of and a successful lover will almost certainly inform his friends. Adultery which is past and finished and pre-nuptial copulation with married people is a subject for open jest and teasing. One day Chudo explained in great detail how and when he had slept with Mrs. Jiroong when they were both unmarried, in the presence of Mrs. Jiroong and a number of other Lepchas. She showed her resentment by throwing a bunch of leaves at him, but forgot even to appear embarrassed. 831

The casual encounter in the field or forest has a somewhat more romantic aura; but it is considered altogether preferable that love-making should take place indoors because of the greater time it allows the pair. In their youth and young manhood (the period Lepchas call *fleng*) Lepcha men would appear to be remarkably 833

1: Gorer J-5 (1937)1938 AK5 Lepcha AK5

833 potent; trustworthy people said that when they were first married they would copulate with their wives five or six, and even eight or nine times in the course of the night, though they would then be tired the next day. I have got no comparable information from women but such statements were often made in mixed company without the women present making any comment or in any way expressing incredulity. This potency diminishes around the age of thirty, but copulation once nightly is still the general rule for married couples. Tafoor claimed that in his youth he was almost indefatiguable, but says that now he only sleeps with his wife once every three or four nights; this is the reason why he is relatively fat, for chastity induces fatness. It is believed that people accustomed to regular copulation will feel extremely uncomfortable for the first few days if for any reason their partner is removed; but it is considered that people over thirty should be able to support long periods of chastity (with the exception, some laymen say, of the lamas, who cannot do without sex even for a week).

The normal position for Lepchas copulating is for the woman to lie absolutely prone and relaxed, while the man kneels in front of her between her legs. In situations where discretion is necessary both parties lie on their sides, copulation taking place *a retro*; and in some sudden and quick encounters both parties remain standing, the woman leaning against a tree or wall. During copulation the woman lies completely motionless and relaxed, but this passivity is not equated with non-participation, and the orgasms of both sexes are considered identical in nature. The Lepcha attitude to 831 semen is practically the same as that commonly held in Europe; it is thought to be a secretion which is constantly produced and stored against use, so that a husband who has been for some while separated from his wife will have particularly large reserves. The testicles are regarded as the reservoirs of semen; they are not paid much attention to in conversation and have little rôle in the constant flow of sexual jokes. It is believed that if a man's testicles [826 842] hang lower than his penis he is more likely to be fertile than if the contrary is the case. Semen is considered to be a rather unpleasant and soiling substance, and these characteristics are advanced as one of the major reasons against masturbation. Lepcha men consider that copulation is most enjoyable either with a very young girl or with a woman who has borne more than one child; in the latter case there is the added advantage that copulation is thought to be much less exhausting. Men with large penises are considered to give

Men with large penises are considered to give
women more immediate satisfaction, but to be on the whole less 831
fertile; there are, however, some anecdotes told of mothers pro- 826
curing large-penised lovers to impregnate their daughters when their 842
husbands have been unable to do so. The size and shape of the genitals of the men in the neighbourhood is a common subject for conversation; and such exact anatomical details are known and described that it would seem as though the privacy and secrecy enjoyed after the fire is damped down were by no means absolute.

A couple of Tibetan prostitutes live at Mangan on the other side 548
of the Teesta River to cater for the transitory Tibetan muleteers. A couple of the Lepchas of Lingthem have made use of their services for the fee of one rupee. Kurma said he preferred these women because, in contrast to Lepcha women, they were energetic during the act. The hiring of these women constitutes a display of super- 556
fluous wealth and an act of dare-devilry; the Lepchas consider their presence as one of the comic curiosities of the neighbourhood, but think it rather absurd for anybody to pay for sexual intercourse.

It is considered by most Lepchas extremely dangerous to sleep 841
with a menstruating woman; Chala Mandal said that he personally 833
would not be afraid, but the general belief is that the man who does so will be unwell and doltish afterwards for a period that some men put at a week and others at three years. It is a general belief that women are particularly desirous directly after menstruation and a few consider that impregnation is most likely to take place at that time. Old Hlatam the 'poisoner' has even gone so far as to warn her daughters to be particularly careful of that period so as to avoid bastards; but this belief is by no means generally held, and it would seem to be an importation from the Nepali, who, Major Morris says, have turned this belief into a cultural act of faith. During their actual periods girls will tell their lovers that they are unwell, but the great majority pay no attention to the subsequent days. There is also a vague belief that it is possible to foretell conception if the man is especially tired and the woman especially passionate.

Although sexual enjoyment is believed to continue for both sexes 831
up to an advanced old age, the sexual activities of old people are 522
considered rather ludicrous. One of Chudo's most successful and appreciated jokes was his vivid description of the noises he heard nightly coming from the sleeping place of his sixty-nine-year-old 'grandfather' the second Dorjé Lapoon and his seventy-four-year-old bride Pumri; and the first Dorjé Lapoon's attempts at eighty-

1: Gorer J-5 (1937)1938 AK5 Lepcha AK5

Kurma spies on the birth of Apot.

X159 'When I was about six or seven I spied on a neighbour giving birth to a baby. I did this by standing under the house floor which was made of crossed bamboo; I did it by myself out of curiosity because I wanted to know what an adult woman's vulva looked like, and to see how babies were born. The woman was hanging on to a rope from the ceiling and an older woman squatted behind her and held her breasts; the woman's belt was loosened and from below I had a very good view of her vulva. The woman was groaning and at each groan the vulva rounded and the head of the child could be seen; between groans the vulva was oblong. Finally after a discharge of yellow fluid the baby was born suddenly; and then the after-birth.' (*I put some questions to Kurma about this event; he said he recollected no feelings of disgust or fear; on the contrary, the spectacle was probably exciting. He excuses his conduct by saying he was too young to know shame.*)

Early sexual experience.

X159 864 'When I was eight or nine I used to ask the little girls of the neighbourhood to let me see and touch their vulvas; to which they would consent and then lie down. Nobody told me about sex; I knew naturally as everybody does; it is like eating. At the same time I only knew how to do it properly when at the age of ten I saw my elder brother, aged fifteen, lift a girl's legs in the forest. [833] My first sexual experience was when I was twelve, with a girl of the same age. We were both employed watching animals. I had seen older people and they had urged me to try the girl; she agreed but after one attempt would have no more to do with me. Pulling back the prepuce hurt.'

Practical joke played on Kurma.

X159 522 'When I was about ten I was sent to live in a field hut to scare away monkeys and other animals from the ripening grain; with me was a young married man, a relation of Passo's. We had grain and pumpkins to eat. The young man played the following trick on me; he told me to get a big leaf from the forest, which I did; then the young man shat on it and told me to fold it up carefully and carry it right away down to the river; I must not put it near a house or in a field. I did as I was told. This happened for

1: Gorer J-5 (1937)1938 AK5 Lepcha AK5

One day at a wedding (it was a rainy day), near the shed which was put up for the bridal party he copulated with a girl carrying a child about four years old. The girl stood with her back to a tree, clasping it with her arms behind her head and lifted one leg. But at the moment of orgasm she let go and fell sideways; nobody was hurt. The child made no comment.

April 2nd.

Kurma up all day, chiefly talking about hunting and ritual and told about the reason why his family are no longer good hunters. He also talked about dreams and their meanings and explained that one of the results of adultery is that the deceived husband will dream of the *tafep*—ladle used for pouring out *chi*. Kurma said that he had had such a dream during the life time of his second wife; he was later informed that the dream was founded on fact, but since he had seen nothing he could do nothing. He denied that he had ever had any sort of overtly sexual dreams or dreams of committing crimes.

April 4th.

Tafoor was present most of the morning describing funeral ceremonies. Kurma came up rather late. He talked about the poltergeist manifestations with which Pong *rum* had plagued him after he had given up hunting.

April 6th.

Kurma came up and discussed adoption, illustrating the disadvantages for the adopted child by his own reminiscences. This was the first time that he enlarged in detail about his own past life.

That day Kurma complained of heart pain which is due to the presence of Shook-sor *moong*. Two nights ago his mother-in-law dreamt of a kite on the roof which signifies the presence of Shook-sor *moong* and the day after Kurma had these pains. Shook-sor *moong* can only pain humans but can kill animals. Its exorcism, which must be performed by a Mun or Padem, is relatively simple, but a Padem cannot cure himself.

Kurma explained that since he had run away he had no claim on his adopting parents' property, which now goes to their nephews.

On this day also he first talked about Hlatam and her faculty for poisoning and said that his second wife had been killed by her.

1: Gorer J-5 (1937)1938 AK5 Lepcha AK5

he said among other things, that it is convenient to have the kanya so near as shops but that they cheat very badly in demanding extortionate interest and also in forcing the debtors to sell their crop early in the season when prices are low instead of letting them wait till prices rise. 159X

He again volunteered several anecdotes about his own sexual experiences. He thinks he has slept with about thirty-eight women in all, of many different races—Nepali, Tibetans etc. He likes Tibetan girls the best; there are a couple down the river who can be had at the price of one rupee. Tibetan girls are 'hot'; they move about so that it is necessary to move very quickly to keep them quiet; Lepcha girls lie like a 'corpse'. He has never had any 'venereal disease'. Some years ago at Lik a girl younger than himself gave him a strap of her own weaving; she also used to bring him food and *chi* in her dress. He slept with Tobgé's sister when she was twelve years old and a virgin; he was the first man to have her. He would have liked to have married her, but his wife was then alive; and when she died the girl had married Nahyeun. He is still very fond of her. He said that he would rather have one wife with many children than many wives with none. He prefers the appearance of a woman to her clothes and jewels. Nahyeun's wife was present during most of the morning and he referred to his relations with her in front of her face and was also very familiar with her; she seemed rather pleased but threw a clod of earth at him. He said that he considered shame a bad thing. 159X 833● 159X

April 25th.

Kurma was present at Konchen Tyuchen and got extremely drunk, so drunk that in the morning he did not know what he had done.

April 29th.

Kurma again spent the whole day talking about his past life. In the morning he got a summons from his third wife saying his son was very ill, whereupon he went to try and buy a pig to take with him as a present; he could not find one. He had been given *chi* by one of the people he had called on and was very slightly drunk. For a Lepcha he gets drunk remarkably easily. When I was questioning him about the relative dates of the things he had been talking about he got impatient and asked me why I always asked about himself today instead of asking about the different

2: Morris T-5 (1937)1938 AK5 Lepcha AK5

mother milked on to it. When this is done the milk on the stone at once dries up with a frizzling noise: this is an example of what Frazer calls "sympathetic magic," and is done in the hope of stopping lactation.

There appears to be no cessation of sexual intercourse up to the time a child is born, but a man does not sleep with his wife for the seven days following birth. We shall see, later on, that certain men other than the husband also have the right to sleep with a woman, but it is thought that the husband alone should have relations with his wife once it is known that she is pregnant. Sexual relations in general will be discussed later, but this seems a suitable place in which to mention the special ritual sexual intercourse, called *Tung Bong Zum* (the meaning of which words I have been unable to discover), which takes place between the husband and wife on the seventh night after the birth of a child.

It is believed that many women suffer from severe pains in the stomach during the first few days following their delivery; and especially is this the case when there has been no hæmorrhage. The condition is known as *Saklong*, a word which denotes that a woman has had no flow of blood following the descent of the afterbirth. To prevent this condition the woman is given hot soup, fish boiled in butter, and other hot food immediately she begins to feel the labour pains; and if it cannot be treated at once it is thought that the woman will die. But of much more importance in the cure is the *Tung Bong Zum*, as it is thought that the man's semen will cause the pain to subside. On this occasion, the man enters the woman from behind and is particularly enjoined not to be violent. It is said that many men do not care to copulate in this fashion; but on such occasions the woman will not permit them to adopt the normal position. Once the *Tung Bong Zum* has been performed normal sexual relations may be resumed; but some women do not allow their husbands to have regular relations with them for another twenty days or so, or until such time as they have thoroughly recovered their strength. Very occasionally the

2: Morris T-5 (1937)1938 AK5 Lepcha AK5

ritual copulation takes place on the third day after birth, in which case it is known as *Suknong Munlok*, but the procedure is the same. It is only done when the pain is so severe that the woman cannot bear to wait until the seventh day.

A child is considered to be naughty if it is dirty in the house after the age of two. When it is about one month old its parents start to teach it to empty its bowels at regular interval, and it is taken out to the veranda for this purpose. By the time the baby is three it is able to crawl, after which it can go to the veranda by itself, or can at least make its wants known to others. A few children can never be taught to be clean, and it is thought that such ones are invariably naughty in later life. No notice is taken of a child which is dirty inside the house up to the age of three, but after this age it is slapped on the bottom or thighs by one of its parents with a brush made from bamboo slivers: it is not punished in any other way.

At about the age of five girls begin to learn women's work and start to carry water and help husk the grain: boys also are supposed to start learning men's work at the same time; but nobody seems to worry if they spend the whole day playing about amongst themselves. At this time all children are taught that when anyone gives them anything they should accept it in both hands. There is very little idea of personal possession and I frequently noticed that whenever a child was given anything it immediately shared it with its friends. It is the most pleasing characteristic of Lepcha children.

Boys are usually given a *ban* at about the age of four, and it is a common sight to see a child of this age already using his knife with considerable skill. Although the knife is almost as big as the child itself accidents never seem to occur, possibly because neither the child nor its parents has any conception of the possibility of danger. Girls are given a sickle when they are eight. This is the female counterpart of the *ban*, and is used to cut grass, and as a general-utility tool. It is worn tucked into the waistband in the small of the back:

2: Morris T-5 (1937)1938 AK5 Lepcha AK5

intolerable, and in the course of countless generations they 578
have so conditioned their feelings that this particular emotion 152
never arises: or if it really is an inherent instinct, then they have sublimated it to such an extent that it causes no psychological disturbance.

Although the question of sexual jealousy hardly arises, it 834
would be absurd to suppose that any man, even a Lepcha, is 833
completely indifferent to his wife's promiscuity. For this reason, in Chodu's words: "It is better to copulate with one's sister-in-law out in the forest, because there is no privacy in the home. Out in the forest it is possible to be more passionate, whereas in the presence of others a certain amount of restraint must be exercised." An elder brother will be angry if he actually sees his younger brother copulating with his wife, and will say some such thing as: "Look here, you should not do that sort of thing with my wife while I'm about, and certainly not in my presence"; but apart from this he will take no action.

It is said that when a man habitually sleeps with his elder 753
brother's wife the latter is liable to suffer from stomach-ache and diarrhœa, especially towards the end of each Tibetan month. When a man has pains of this sort he will naturally suspect his wife, but there is really little that he can do. He may suggest to his wife that she breaks off relations 751
with his brother, or can ask her to obtain a piece of his 753
clothing. If he wears this himself, in the form of a charm, it will be found that the pair will cease to be interested in one another and in course of time will give up sleeping together. It should be clearly noted, however, that the object of this is to cure the elder brother's stomach-ache and not to stop the woman having sexual relations with her husband's brother, to which no objection is taken.

It is an understood thing that most normal men do have 835
relations with their elder brothers' wives from time to time, and while the subject is not generally discussed among brothers no one would make any attempt to deny the fact if asked; not because there is any question of jealousy arising,

2: Morris T-5 (1937)1938 AK5 Lepcha AK5

I should say that "being in love" is a state of mind com- 584
pletely unknown to the Lepchas. There was not in Lingtem, so far as I know, a single instance of a man or woman making a love-match; nor do I think such a thing possible in a society completely devoid of jealousy. It is interesting, however, to note that among Christian Lepchas in Kalimpong and Darjeeling real love-matches are very common and becoming the usual thing among the younger generation: and we have also seen that there is a tendency among such "uncivilised" Lepchas as have worked in Gangtok to make at least some attempt to arrange their own marriages. It should be remembered, however, that in both these cases the free sexual life of the "uncivilised" Lepcha is impossible; in the one case only temporarily, but in the other by reason of a permanently changed code of morals. Can it be that as a result of these changed conditions the "inherent" but previously sublimated jealousy comes to the surface, at the same time bringing with it the ability to enjoy the "most exalted of human experiences"? I do not know; but, to me, it seems not impossible.

In view of the fact that there is no privacy in a Lepcha 864
house, children are early aware of the method of procreation, and it is a common sight at monastery feasts to see small children of four or five imitating the act of copulation, and not infrequently being egged on by their inebriated elders, who seem to think this an amusing sight. Boys generally 864
commence their sexual life at about the age of twelve, and 833
usually start by being seduced by one of their father's younger brother's wives, if any such are living in the same house. We can now realise that the regulation prohibiting a man from having sexual relations with the wives of his father's *elder* brothers has a definite purpose, since the father himself is permitted to sleep with these women. Were the prohibition [835]
not enforced it would be possible for both a father and son to have sexual relations with the same woman, a state of affairs that is looked upon with marked disapproval, although it is not considered to be actually incestuous.

2: Morris T-5 (1937)1938 AK5 Lepcha AK5

864 In the same way that a boy usually has his first sexual
●833 experience with a woman years older than himself, so is a girl
842 generally first seduced by some older man. A number of women told us that they started their sexual life at the age of ten; and in every case they had their first experience with a grown man. The people do not see anything offensive in this; and we were unable to convince them that the custom is undoubtedly one of the chief causes of the very high rate of sterility among the Jongu women. Nothing short of a complete examination by a gynæcologist would definitely establish this point; but it is significant that the several sterile women with whom we were on sufficiently intimate terms to discuss the subject all owned to having been initiated into sex at a very early age, and by men years older than themselves.

833 Except when a young boy is seduced by some elder relation a woman never makes the suggestion to copulate, although she may hint indirectly that she is not unwilling to submit. When a youth is interested in any particular girl he will generally have his first encounter with her out in the forest, or in some other secluded spot; but once relations between the two have been established it is usual for him to visit her at home. He will, if necessary, travel several miles in the dead of night for this purpose. The girl will previously explain the topography of the house to her lover and describe to him the exact place where she sleeps, so that when the time comes he may enter the house silently and make straight for her bed. He will usually creep in on all fours, stepping over the other sleeping people carefully, so as not to wake them. Should he be discovered he will at once run out of the house, and will not return that night; but if the pair are not disturbed it will generally be about two in the morning before the boy takes his departure. He will generally not leave his own home until everyone is asleep, so that he can depart unnoticed. Should the parents of the girl get to know what is happening they will not usually be angry or display any other emotion. Tafoor said that he would not mind in the least if he

2: Morris T-5 (1937)1938 AK5 Lepcha AK5

knew that his daughter (now aged twelve) was having 833
relations with a man; but he would not like her to give birth
to a bastard, on account of the possible harm to the crops.
Neither he nor his wife has spoken to her on the subject, nor
is this ever done. Incidentally, it may be noted that the
swelling of a young girl's breasts is not thought to be a sign of
puberty, for which there is indeed no special name, but
an indication that she has commenced to have sexual
relations.

Masturbation is not, of course, unknown, but is seldom 839
indulged in by reason of the fact that women are available
from the earliest moment that a boy feels the need of sex.
The general opinion is that it is slightly silly and rather
funny.

The average married Lepcha has sexual relations with his 833
wife at least once every night, but abstinence is thought to
cause no harm, and indeed makes one fat and healthy. It
should be noted, however, that abstinence is interpreted as
meaning having sexual relations only once in every three or
four days. Tafoor now considers himself a very continent
man, but says that when he first married he usually copulated
with his wife seven or eight times every night. In his opinion
men are not much interested in the sexual act after the age of
sixty or sixty-five; but women continue to take pleasure in the
operation up to the time they die. The menopause seems to
be hardly recognised and certainly does not result in any sort
of psychological disturbance such as seems to be common
among European women. It is realised that after a certain
age women cease to conceive, but there is no break in their
sexual activities. It may be that because of this no attempt is
made to restrain the sex life of the young; for since there is no
break in the sex life of the parents the question of jealousy,
once again, does not arise, as I believe it does in our own
civilisation. But this is a matter for the psychologists to
decide.

Contraception is unknown; nor are aphrodisiacs in general 832
use. It is said, however, that the flesh of a bird called *Kan fo*,

11:Hermanns M-5 (1951)1954
AK5 Lepcha AK5

796 782 after the sowing of each of their grains, they are offered sakyong fast to ensure a good harvest.

Only the three crops are connected with the people of [241 Mayal; the others come from different supernaturals, barley, 776] wheat, buckwheat, and wet rice come from Kongen-bu, the god of Kinchenjunga, a Sikkimese deity; no important ceremonies are connected with these crops. Cardamum, as has already been said, comes from Nepal and is under the patronage of the foreign Elaiji-nyou, who dislikes women, in particular menstruating women. The people of Mayal are said to share [841] this dislike and should a menstruating woman visit them there would be the terrible result that all the people of Mayal would fall asleep and would not send the migratory birds."[71]

The spring sacrifice is simple. The autumn sacrifice on the contrary is very copious. For this an old experienced man is elected to represent the ancestors of Mayal and he is called Mayal-mu. A woman is selected to represent the Talyeu-mu, the sister earth. When the ceremony cannot be completed on the same day, those taking part in it stay with each other for the night. There is free intercourse [786 between the sexes; however, the comprehensive ban on in- 833] cestual relations is not broken. This recalls the sexual freedom 171] which is indulged in at the festivals of Spring and Autumn among many Asiatic peoples and which we observed in the Tibeto-Chinese province Tsing-hai among Chinese, Tujen Tibetans, etc. The representation of ancestors and agricultural spirits by masquerading in their guise is again a well-known custom among Asiatic primitives usually connected with the New Year festivals. Thus the sacrifices of the hunters and of the cultivators stand out in sharp contrast with each other.

The Lepcha, Suliman, gave us informatin about another family sacrifice to the Supreme God, Ta-she-thing. Anyone who knows the rites may perform it, whether it be a man or [262] a woman. The one who performs it must fast for three days before the ceremony, *i.e.* he must not eat the chief meal of rice but he can eat the other dishes. During this time he must [615] take three baths. The bathing place is prepared near the

71. Gorer, op. cit. 238 sq.